# ANTHONY HORNECK

# AND

# THE ENGLISH RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

Rev. Linda J.C. Webb
King's College
University of London
1975-76
Master of Theology
Ecclesiastical History

CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . . i

Chapter

I. Life . . . . . 1

II. Societies . . . . . 15

III. Works . . . . . 25

Postscript . . . . . 51

Appendix A . . . . . 54

Appendix B . . . . . 56

Footnotes

Preface . . . . . 58

Chapter I . . . . . 58

Chapter II . . . . . 60

Chapter III . . . . . 61

Postscript . . . . . 63

Bibliography . . . . . 64

# PREFACE

According to Bullock in his Voluntary Religious Societies, 1520-1799, Anthony Horneck "more than any other single individual sponsored and guided the Religious Societies in England from their foundation in 1678 until his death, thereby initiating a revival of personal religion and genuine piety in an age noted for its immorality and religious ignorance."[1] Historians have probed Horneck's life seeking the roots of these Societies in foreign soil, particularly in Germany, and the precidents of Philipp Spener. Tangible evidence of direct idealogical descent is almost non-existent, although similarities are beyond question. This area of study has been sufficiently treated, considering the material available.

Untreated until now, however, has been Horneck's own personal influence on the Societies. Certainly there were other Pietists in England, and even in London at the time who might have promoted such developments. Indeed, Nicholas Ferrar had dealt with the possibilities many years before. But it was not until Horneck appeared with his special system that the movement became a force in English religious life. Intended here, therefore is a

critical comparison between Horneck's system, as it appears in his life and works, and the character of the Societies, in their rules and responses to the political pressures of the time.

# CHAPTER I

## Life

Contemporary sources on the life of the Reverend Dr. Anthony Horneck are few and in some cases conflicting. The most helpful, solidly factual account is that of Richard Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells. A second source, published anonymously, is somewhat more subjective, but, taken together with Kidder's volume, establishes Horneck as a man with immeasurable influence on those associated with him.

Sources agree that Horneck was born in the village of Bacharach on the Rhine, in the Lower Palatinate, in 1641, where his father was the recorder or town secretary.[1] Kidder disagrees with the anonymous author's claim that the family was originally Roman Catholic, and that Hørneck himself, disillusioned with the uncharitableness of that church, became a convert to Protestantism.[2] The unknown author's chief reason for making such a claim seems to be his desire to draw a more perfect parallel between Horneck and the apostle Paul, who was a convert from Judaism to Christianity. He imagines Horneck saying, with the Apostle, "I have been lead by Christ to see a more pure and Evangelical way . . . not compounded with the devices of men and the Superstitions of Paganism."[3] It seems likely, however, that if Horneck had any such claim to make, he certainly would have made it for himself.

in his anti-Roman Catholic writings, which he does not do. Kidder is undoubtedly correct in saying Horneck was born and brought up a Protestant.

In conjunction with this birthright Protestantism, Kidder says Horneck was dedicated to the ministry by his father at birth.[4] He thus found himself in theological studies early, and is reported to have been with Dr. Frederick Spanheim, the Younger, at Heidelbergh. He became especially proficient at oriental languages, particularly Aramaic and Hebrew, being acquainted with the latter in both its Biblical and Rabbinic forms. His success as a student is preserved in a story about his presentation, at the age of 18, of an interpretation of Jephthah's vow, which scriptural account surfaces in later years as an illustration in The Happy Ascetic.[5]

Horneck came to Great Britain in 1661 at the age of 19, with parental consent, if lacking parental enthusiasm. There seems to be some controversy about whether or not he matriculated at Wittenbergh after leaving Heidelbergh and before coming to England, as some authors record his transfer from Wittenbergh to Queen's College, Oxford. But the time schedule being what it was, it seems likely that he proceeded to Britain immediately after leaving Spanheim and that the Wittenbergh red herring is nothing more than an understandable confusion of place names. His German degree is dated variously December 21, 1663[6] and March 15, 1663/4[7] and he entered

Queen's College on December 24, 1663, where the Provost, Dr. Thomas Barlow, afterward Bishop of Lincoln, quickly gained an appreciation for his mastery of languages.[8] The friendship between the two men is testified by Barlow's recommendation of Horneck to a chaplaincy at the college and Horneck's dedication of The Happy Ascetic to his former provost many years later.

Already renowned for his dedication and piety, the German was made vicar of All Saints Church, then All Hallows, Oxford, in which position he served for two years, until 1665.[9] He then took a position in the household of the Duke of Albemarle as tutor to young Lord Torrington. Kidder extolls Horneck's virtues which became even more evident during this phase of his life, in that he did not succumb to the opportunity to make his fortune while with the Duke, but conscientiously concerned himself only with his duties and spiritual well-being. The Duke did arrange a living for him as rector at Doulton in Devonshire and, through his influence, Dr. Sparrow recommended him to a prebend at Exeter Cathedral that paid £20 per annum, to which he was admitted on June 13, 1670.[10]

Thus at the age of 28, well on his way to establishment in the Church of England, Anthony Horneck returned to his native Germany for what was to be the last time, in 1669. During his visit he gained great respect and popularity at the court of Charles Lodowick,

Elector Palatinate.[11] Little or nothing is known about the particulars of his two year stay in his homeland, but he undoubtedly encountered things that influenced his later parish work. Among them were probably the Collegia pietatis of Philipp Spener. Some historians have gone to great lengths to draw parallels between Horneck's Societies and those of Spener, but Garnet Portus' observation that England had sufficient models for such organizations in medieval craft guilds and Puritan groups relieves one of the absolute necessity of delving into this nebulous period of Horneck's life in excessive depth. He probably encountered the German groups, but he did not seemingly, transplant them to Britain, rather, he probably acquired the seed from them and grew his own hybrid version largely from British soil.

At his return to England in 1671 he was appointed preacher at the Queen's Chapel of the Savoy in Westminster, where he served for 26 years, until his death in 1697.[12] Shortly after arriving in London he met and married Jane Bolton, daughter of London grocer Thomas Bolton and his wife Jane (nee Downs). Jane Horneck's baptism is recorded at the parish church of Saint Christopher-le-Stocks on November 27, 1649.[13] She and Horneck had an acclaimed and fruitful marriage, as Hone testifies, calling her "his virtuous wife, with whom he lived in great concord and union."[14]

Four children were born to them, but details are

available on only three, two of whom have found their way to the parental tomb in Westminster Abbey. The first, interred under the name Elizabeth Warr, is listed as the couple's only daughter. According to the records, she was first married at St. Martin-Outwich in London on May 21, 1695, to an apothecary, Dirck Barnevelt of St. James, Westminster. She had seven children by that union, only three of whom were still living at her death. She was widowed on November 22, 1717. Her second marriage was to Captain Jonathan Warr of Isleworth, who survived her and by whom she had no children.[15] She was buried January 8, 1734/5.

The second child buried with his parents in Westminster died in April of 1746. Captain William Horneck was first commissioned in the army as a lieutenant of foot on April 6, 1708. By 1711 he had attained the position of Director in the Royal Engineers, in which commission he remained until his death at the age of 62. His will contains some indication that he was financially better off than his father, and morally, a bit below his father's standards. He bequeathed a house near Gravesend in Kent to a Mrs. Ann Butters, the remainder of his estate to an assortment of other people, and set up a trust fund for "Kane William Horneck, alias Butters, . . . son of my most dearly beloved Mary Butters, of Gravesend, by me." It was this son, also Capt. Horneck, engineer in the offices of Ordinance, who became well known as the father

of the girls immortalized by Oliver Goldsmith in "Jessamy Bride" and "Little Comedy."[16] Captain Horneck, Senior, is honored by a plaque at the west end of the Abbey, commemorating his prowess in military engineering under the Duke of Marlborough.[17]

The only other offspring about whom anything is known is Philip, the eldest son. A Whig pamphleteer, he was referred to by Lord Oxford as "a special rascal." This evaluation is further asserted by Alexander Pope who included Philip in The Dunciad.(Book iii,l. 152)[18]

These family connections are important only in as far as they establish Horneck as a family man, ever dedicated, ever impoverished. Kidder acclaims his astute parenthood as a reflection of his piety and if he maintained his own domestic ship on the rules of navigation he sets out in his volume The True Interest of Families, one could puzzle at how he could have been responsible for such waywardness as seemingly surfaced in William.

The poverty of the pater familias was worsened by the lack of a lodging with the Savoy Chapel. From his meagre salary, £20 per year, he was forced to pay rent on a home within the parish precincts. Because of his scruples about pluralities, he had resigned the living at Doulton when he succeeded Thomas Fuller at the Savoy.[19] But otherwise, it was perhaps, an ideal situation. It was said at the time that his parish extended from

Whitechapel to Whitehall, encompassing a wide variety of people, from the simplest to the most exalted. The Chapel itself had a long history, having served variously as chapel to the Savoy Palace, chapel to the Savoy Hospital, into which the Palace was converted by Henry VII, and finally as a Royal Chapel. When, during the reign of Edward VI, the Duke of Somerset pulled down the parish church of St. Mary-le-Strand to use the stones as building materials in the construction of Somerset House, the parishioners of St. Mary's became attached to the Savoy Chapel, making it, for all practical purposes, the local parish church. Thus when Horneck was appointed to the Savoy, he found himself responsible for the people of St. Mary-le-Strand as well.[20]

Horneck's personal success at the Chapel is partially reflected in the financial records which note a significant change in the weekly receipts, from £5: 4s: 4d on May 22, 1676, to £35: 15s: on May 19, 1686, and £27: 3s in March of 1688.[21] By these later dates, attendance had become so great that benches were set up outside the church so the overflow of people could hear the message through the open windows.

The year 1678 was marked by several key events in Horneck's life. First of all, he suffered a very serious illness, the exact nature of which is unknown. His recovery he credited to his wife's excellent care. He celebrated God's mercy in the events of that trial by setting aside-

one day each month for thanksgiving in his own household and by preaching a yearly commemoration sermon in his parish.[22] Also in 1678 were begun the Religious Societies which were to be the distinguishing feature of his ministry in the Savoy precincts, about which more will be said below.

In 1681 he received his doctorate from Cambridge and, after the Revolution of 1688, was appointed, with seven other clergymen, to the post of Chaplain to his majesty King William. His poverty was a never ending concern to those around him, even if he seemed oblivious to it himself, and many people made efforts to alleviate his lack by recommending various preferments. In 1689 Archbishop Tillotson attempted to arrange for his appointment to St. Paul's Church at Covent Garden, but it seems, his reputation as a supporter of Religious Societies had preceeded him, and, regardless of his respected preaching, the suspicion that he was a promoter of "seditious conventicles" prevented his acceptance. Also in 1689 he preached before King William and Queen Mary in Whitehall on the nature of true Christian righteousness, from Matthew 5.10, the text of which sermon was later published. His popularity with the new monarchs, beneficial though it must have been in some circles, cost him dearly in other groups, because, although he was a High Churchman, he was not a Non-juror, taking the oaths to the new monarchs inspite of the questionable dismissal

of James II. He lived his belief that a Christian was always submissive to the state (Rule XVIII) whatever its complexion, and was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that William and Mary were Protestants, whereas James had been a Roman Catholic.

His position on the Roman Catholic Church was clear beyond question. Apart from his many anti-Roman Catholic writings, Horneck participated in the Schlater affair, in which the Reverend Edward Schlater, "apostate curate of Putney," was readmitted to the Church of England after having defected to the opposition during the reign of James, and writing materials considered offensive by the Church of England. When James fled, Schlater was called upon to recant by Bishop Compton and Archbishop Sancroft. He did so, reading his recantation after the morning service at the Savoy Chapel, whereupon he was readmitted to lay communion. Horneck wrote an account of these events, which was published in 1689.[23]

Still concerned about Horneck's financial state, Edward Russell, Earl of Oxford, later Commissioner of the Admiralty,[24] about to be dispatched to the Battle of La Hague, asked as a departing favor from her Majesty Queen Mary, a preferment for the Savoy curate. The Queen consulted with Tillotson, and, discovering there was nothing immediately available, promised instead that Horneck would receive the next prebend available

at Westminster Abbey. This fell vacant the next year and he was duly installed on July 1, 1693.[25] There was considerable relief, financially, through this benefice, as it included, besides the usual income, a house, into which Horneck and his family moved immediately. He did, however, retain rooms at his former residence in the Chapel precincts that he might have a place to receive his parishioners, and he was known to spend the night in the neighborhood when his presence was required. Due to his persistent distaste for pluralities, he resigned as prebendary of Exeter Cathedral, but did accept a canonry at Wells, offered, presumably, by his biographer and friend Richard Kidder. He was installed there in September of 1694.[26]

Horneck's dedication to the spiritual well-being of his people has given rise to several stories concerning the relationship between that dedication and his own poverty. His distaste for pluralities, the habit of having several non-resident livings to which minor churchmen might be assigned as caretakers, leaving a substantial profit for the holder of the living, was based on his belief that in such cases, the people seldom received adequate spiritual care. As a result he limited his positions, resigning D Doulton and Exeter at such times as he could no longer guarantee proper service. As Kidder remarked, Horneck looked on a living as a cure not a benefice.[27] Similarly, money was the least of his concerns in the livings he

retained. In one particular instance, on visiting a tenant, Horneck found the man's religious life in a state of disrepair and upbraided him. In return, the man refused to pay his rent, but the loss concerned Horneck less than the state of the man's soul.

His spiritual concern also reached beyond the limits of his parish. In the Harleian Miscellany (Vol. IX, pp. 9-45) there is the account of his involvement in the case of a certain Captain Vratz, perpetrator of the notorious murder of a well known gentlman by the name of Thynne. Captain Vratz had hired two immigrants to kill Mr. Thynne, informing them that in England a servant could not b e held responsible for a crime committed under orders from his master. Mr. Thynne was, accordingly, shot in his carriage and Vratz and his two hired assassins brought to justice. Bishop Gilbert Burnet was called to care for the men in prison but, as the immigrants spoke only Polish and Dutch he was unable to help them. He therefore, enlisted the aid of Anthony Horneck, who counseled them until their execution, bringing them to a proper state of repentence, the account reports.[28]

Firm in the Pietist tradition, Horneck was astute in matters of pastoral care. He saw himself as more than a preacher, considering his own life his best sermon, and attempting to live a life following the example of the Gospel. He visited the sick, whether poor or rich and made himself always available for consultation on matters of conscience. Even on his pitance he gave freely

to the poor. He was also well known for his catachism of the youth, believing strongly, as The First Fruits of Reason states, that the road to godly life must be set upon early.

Sacramental practice came under strict observance also. The eucharist was administered on the first Sunday of every month once at 8 a.m. and again at the regular morning service and a preparatory sermon was preached on the preceeding Friday. Other clergymen often assisted him, and as the communicants frequently filled the church to overflowing, the services were long and dismissal was late.[29]

Kidder makes particular note of Horneck's honesty and good judgement in the evaluation of people, saying that he himself frequently consulted Horneck concerning various persons, and never found the recommendation faulty. Also stated with appreciation by the Bishop was Horneck's dedication to the Church of England, which expressed itself in his careful regard for church discipline and polity.

One could go on endlessly about Horneck's pious life, as indeed, some of his biographers have done. But it seems sufficient simply to say that he lived what he believed and consequently wrote about. His collected works define a systematic lifestyle befitting the Gospel, meticulous to the least detail, and no one has faulted his own adherence to each and every principle he laid down.

Horneck kept to his work steadily until Christmas of 1696 and preached his last sermon at the Savoy Chapel on January 23, 1697, despite considerable agony resulting from his affliction with kidney stones. This malady, common to upper class Englishmen of the era, is made more interesting by An Account of What Happened in Sweden which he wrote in 1689, recounting the experiences of a 16 year old boy afflicted with kidney stones that were believed to have been brought upon him by a witch's curse. Horneck describes a bundle, supposedly the vehicle of the curse, that was picked up by the boy, containing "pins, some crooked, some laid accross, some without points; partly broken horse-nails and nails without heads; partly horse-hair and such trash" all wrapped in a "little bundle of linnen rags."[30] The boy's resultant suffering was immeasurable and almost unbelievable, except for the testimony of certain "respectable persons" of the area, including the King's "chirurgeon."

Horneck's death-bed is described in some detail by Bishop Kidder who was called from the 11 o'clock service at Westminster Abbey on January 30 to pray with his friend in his last few hours of coherence. Kidder asked Horneck if he was aware he was dying. He responded that he was aware, and faced the event without fear or dread. He died at 8 p.m., the evening of January 31 in the fifty-sixth year of his life, attended by the Bishop and was buried in the south cross of Westminster Abbey on February

4, 1697.[31]

A plaque is his memorial at the Abbey, acclaiming his erudition, love of God, holy life, solemn-mindedness, kindness and 26 years of unwearied service to the people of the Savoy Chapel. Also noted are his writings on primitive Christianity and the high and holy Christian principles upon which his life was founded.[32]

Perhaps his greatest legacy to the English Church was his work in the establishment of Religious Societies. A reflection, in the main, of his own primitive piety, the Societies combined personal devotion with political acceptability and provided a means whereby lay people from the middle social stratum could elevate their religious dedication, and thereby, raise the standards of society as well.

## CHAPTER II

## Societies

The Societies may be considered in two aspects, pietism and politics. Their aim was pietistic, therefore, the majority of their characteristics fall under this heading, including most of the rules, activities and direct influence. The second area, politics, can itself, be subdivided into Anglican and Roman Catholic aspects. All combined to create the Religious Societies, unique in English Church history, and influential for generations to come.

The Societies appeared in London and Westminster in 1678 during the reign of Charles II. Josiah Woodward, writing in 1715, indicated that Horneck originated the Societies, calling him the "father" of the movement.[1] This is true only insofar as Horneck's preaching inspired the populous who called upon him, in turn, to draw up rules by which the Societies might be governed. The groups themselves were not suggested by Horneck, but were inspired as a working model by organizations of 'Atheists, deists and socinians' that flourished at about the same time. This order of origin lends further credance to the idea that English Religious Societies were less dependent upon foreign models than some scholars have supposed. As Garnet Portus says, "Horneck's organizations were so perfectly natural under the circumstances that we need

not strain after an evolutionary explanation of them based on foreign models. Horneck was a travelled and a cultured man and may have been acquainted with the French [or German] societies. But there are precidents enough in the mediaeval English craft-guilds, and in the Puritan associations of laymen to justifiy the contention that English societies were the natural outcome of contemporary London life."[2] As such, they were a devotional response to Horneck's preaching and in that sense, he may be considered their "father."

The rules Horneck provided fall easily into the two categories described above, piety and politics. (See Appendix A) Some were designed to promote personal piety. Proper devotional materials are stipulated, including "the Litany and Collects and other prescribed prayers" (Rule VI), "a Psalm" (Rule VII), setting the tone of the meetings as worshipful, rather than scholarly or disciplinary. By far the most pietistical is Rule XVIII, which will be considered at length below, in conjunction with the particulars of Horneck's own piety. Rule XVIII was the raison d'etre of the rest, for without it Rules I through XVII would quickly reduce themselves to mere Pharisaism.

Portus describes the pattern of a typical meeting growing out of these stipulations:

> Scripture Sentences
> A Short Admonition
> A General Confession
> The Lord's Prayer
> The Ash Wednesday Collect (and other collects)

A Psalm
The Apostles' Creed
The Collect for Trinity Sunday
A private prayer for the Society
A General Intercession (compiled from the B.C.P.)
A Thanksgiving
An Exhortation to Humility
A Psalm
A Proper Preface
The Grace[3]

After all this had been accomplished Horneck gave permission, in Rule IX, for the members to "discourse each other about their spiritual concerns." These discources were not to be compulsory on any member and were to avoid "matters of conscience" which Rules XV states are to be dealt with by the minister.

The Societies were well established in London-Westminster by 1694, according to a surviving handwritten manuscript which lists the names, addresses and employment of the members of fifteen such Societies, along with their meeting times and locations.[4] This relatively late record notes masters, journeymen and apprentices from fields as widely varied as harness making, carpentry and lace manufacture. (See Appendix B) Gathering places included private homes, pubs and a church vestry. This volume concurs with Robert Nelson's Address to Persons of Quality, in which he states that most Societies were maintained by the labouring classes. He extolls their promotion of daily services, regular communion, primitive Christianity, loyalty to the Church of England, and revival of the spirit of true Christianity, commenting

that if such good can be perpetrated by the lower classes, then the possibilities for devotion by a rightly dedicated nobility were endless.[5]

The minister's role in the Societies was very well defined and he might be described as the practical liason between the pietistic and the political realms. First, each Society was required to have a minister to whom it related. It is interesting to note that Horneck does not require that this should be the local parish priest. In view of the fact that some priests were suspicious of the groups, this freedom prevented a checker-boarding of the Societies according to pastoral whim. If the local priest were ill-suited, then another was certainly available a short distance away. By not stiffening the parish borders, Horneck also gave individuals greater freedom in choosing the group to which they might belong. Here incidently, is one of the major variations between Horneck and Spener, who required that the parish clergyman be in charge.[6] But, of course, the situation in London was different, with its often gargantuan parish dimensions and the general tendency of the people to seek a preacher who suited their tastes. The minister, once chosen, was responsible for screening each new member, assuring his baptism, confirmation by a bishop and serious intention. He was also to choose "what practical divinity shall be read" at each meeting (Rule VII). Such careful governance by a qualified individual whose allegiance was to the church considerably reduced the possibilities of schism,

a major tendency of such orgaizations.

The increase in personal piety cultivated was intended to show itself tangibly in greater charity. To this end, Rule XII required that a charity dinner be held each Whitsuntuesday, a sermon be preached, and the proceeds be given to the poor. This admonition was probably more than a little responsible for the later tendency of the Societies to concern themselves increasingly with charity and public morality, often at the expense of personal piety. For Horneck, charity was an outgrowth of piety, but for some later groups it became an end in itself. Hence the inception of Societies for the Reformation of Manners and mission organizations like the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Philanthropy superceded piety in degree of emphasis.

A direct result of this intended combination of pietism and charity were the lectures and "preparation sermons" paid for by the Society members in various parishes. James Paterson, in his 1714 survey of London Churches, Pietas Londinensis, notes twenty-seven out of ninty-nine churches that were enabled to provide additional services through the financial support of several Religious Societies. The entry for St. George the Martyr, Borough of Southwark, Surry, is typical:

> "And a preparation sermon for the approaching Sacrament, on the third Sunday of the Month, at five a Clock in the evening; which is

maintained by a religious Society of the Parish."[7]

At St. Magnus by London Bridge the evening prayers were also "maintained by a religious Society."[8] In addition, many charity sermons are listed, frequently noted "for the Use of poor Children."[9]

John Chamberlayne's Magna Britannia Notitia, 1708, notes the accomplishments of the Societies to that date, citing poor relief, education of poor children, visitation of the ill and imprisoned, reclamation of the "vicious and dissolute," promotion of Christian Concord, true worship and family devotions, as well as catechism of the youth.[10] All these emphases emerge from Horneck's works on practical piety, testifying the degree to which they provided the inspiration for the Societies and their goals.

Chamberlayne goes on to talk about the Societies' second major social effect, that of claiming and reclaiming dissenters and Roman Catholics: "They have been instrumental in bringing several Quakers and enthusiastical persons to baptism and a sober mind, reconciling several dissenters to the communion of the Church of England and preserving many unsteady and wavering persons from popery."[11] These activities established them in relationship to the second major area for consideration: politics.

The political scene in the 17th Century included the affairs of the church as well as the state. The setting

is extremely complex, a combination of the fear of the extremes of Puritanism, begotten by the excesses of the Commonwealth, and an equal fear of Popery and all its abuses, recalled from the days before Henry VIII and the reign of Mary Tudor. The newly re-Established High Church Anglican party walked a tight-rope between the two, trying to propagate the faith in a nation ruled first by the morally lax, cavalier court of Charles II, and next by Roman Catholic James II. These varying political scenes had decisive influence on the Societies.

In 1678, as the Societies were beginning, a chief concern of the Anglican party was schism. The rules provided by Horneck reflect this concern in that the Societies were carefully defined as ecclesiolae in ecclesia, "little churches within the church,"[12] dedicated to the benefit of the church as a whole rather than to a particular system, at the possible expense of the national church. Here, Horneck was more specific than Spener had been, possibly accounting for the non-factious development of the English Societies in contrast to those in Germany.

Five of the first six rules are intended to subvert schism. Rule II requires that all members of the Societies be baptised and confirmed members of the Church of England. This eliminated the possibility of infiltration by persons with unorthodox beliefs and allegiances. The requirement of a minister to oversee the

activities is modified from Spener's general recommendation to the specific: "a minister of the Church of England," (Rule III) further lessening the possibility of Dissenting influence. Members and ministers were well within the fold. Maintenance under the auspices of a recognized clergyman of the Church of England was also required under the Conventicle Act which prohibited unauthorized gatherings wherein disloyalty might be cultivated. Lest they get off the approved track, they are next forbidden "to discourse any controverted point of Divinity." (Rule Iv) The theological issues that were held in conflict between the Church of England and its mentors, the Quakers, "enthusiasts" and Roman Catholics, were placed outside the reach of these loyal Anglicans. They were to accept doctrine as authorized. Discussion of governmental structure, another point of disagreement between some sects and the Establishment was also prohibited (Rule V). And the liturgy of the Church of England was the only form of expression permitted the groups, excluding the use of extemporaneous prayer.

After the Popish Plot of 1678, Roman Catholicism became a serious issue and fear reached a fever pitch in 1685 when James II, a Roman Catholic, assumed the throne. Under the guise of toleration, James increasingly favored Catholicism, the groundwork for which had already been laid by his brother Charles. As Romans continued to be put in positions of power

and schools were established to promote the foreign faith, people became increasingly uneasy about any group which met suspiciously in closed sessions. Because of their highly personal nature, Horneck's Societies were closed. It had been their habit to meet in persons' homes, but once suspicion was cast upon them, the sessions were quickly moved to public places. The record book mentioned previously lists few homes, citing pubs as the central gathering point, even after the dismissal of King James. The description of the organizations was also modified from "society" to "club", with the intention of avoiding suspicion. The title "society" was restored after the coming of William and Mary.

Horneck was particularly concerned with the growth of Catholicism because James had granted the Jesuits the right to establish a school in the Savoy precincts, which opened May 24, 1687. With a similar school in Fenchurch Street, the Savoy institution was free, interdenominational and very advanced in its educational techniques. It provided a very attractive prospect for local families and over half the students enrolled were Protestant.[13] Although the rules of the school pre-empted any religious instruction, corruption by association was feared, and Horneck did all in his power to prevent parents in his parish from subjecting their children to the dangers. Hence his voluminous literary attention to popery and its abuses.

The combination of these literary polemics against popery and the immediate attention of the Societies to insinuation probably accounted for the benevolent reaction received from Anglican superstructure when Horneck, feeling compromised by accusations, submitted a description of the Societies to London's Bishop Compton for approval. The Bishop supported them, saying "God forbid that I should be against such excellent designs." Similarly, Archbishop Tillotson recognized their beneficial nature: "these Societies are a support to our Church."[14] In surviving the Roman Catholic threat, the groups had succeeded in their attempt to remain ecclesiolae in ecclesia through two eras.

In effect, it was the maintenance of their primary allegiance, piety, that enabled the Societies to survive the destructive possibilities of their political environment. Had Horneck been a man more concerned with the things of this life, he might have been less spartan in his lifestyle, and hence less an inspiration to his people. And had the Societies been more attached to this-worldly things, they might have been less able to resign the things which endangered their reputation. It was the emphasis on piety which enabled the Societies to reach beyond the frontiers attained by other groups similarly intentioned, but less broadly based in their social composition and less pietistic in their emphases.

## CHAPTER III

### Works

In the Preface to his volume The First Fruits of Reason, Dr. Horneck explains that the discourse had originally been created at the request of the friends of a certain young man who had met an accidental end at St. Barthomew Fair and had initially been preached as his funeral sermon. Later, Horneck chose to expand his message for publication in hopes of further edifying the people in his care. Similarly, his treatise on the Lord's Supper, The Crucified Jesus, begins by thanking an unknown man who had requested sermons to enable a better understanding of the Holy Sacrament. Indeed, nearly all his published works had their origins in a request for enlightenment by some individual or group. It was apparent, testified his anonymous biographer that Horneck lived what he believed and as a result, people who were less happy with their lives than he seemed to be with his turned to him for help. It was as a result of this steady dialogue with his people that Horneck published what might be considered a systematic theology of practical pietism. He wrote sermons and tracts on nearly every aspect of the Christian life, elucidating for his readers in meticulous detail, the application of what he understood to be the practice of holiness in daily life. The Religious Societies grew up as a direct

response to the lifestyle demanded by this religious pietism. It is advisable, then, to look carefully at the system which begot them and which became the standard of perfection at which they aimed.

Like many contemporary divines, Horneck wrote in many different genre, including sermons, letters, dialogues, and discourses. He also published several volumes of devotional writings, including prayers and meditations. These various styles of presentation gave his thoughts readability to a wide sector of the population. Those not inclined toward dry discourses might digest the material quite well by reading a polemic. And if the intellectual explanation of the necessity of prayer were missed, certainly an example would arouse those of baser nature. Thus his ideas quite naturally became accessible to a wider spectrum of interests and intellects. John Evelyn, scholar, saw fit to recommend The Great Law of Consideration, yet the largest numbers of the society members were drawn from the labouring classes, as is testified by the anonymous record book considered above. (Appendix B) Anthony Horneck spoke to all people in language they could understand and apply to their own lives.

But beyond the various styles of presentation which are evident as a factor in making Horneck's work influential, one must consider also the wide scope of topics discussed. Aside from the main thrust of his interest, that of practical, day to day, pietism, he

dabbled in the anti-popery scandals of his era, writing tract after letter after discourse on the objectionable characteristics of Romanism. Witchcraft also got a bit of attention, chiefly in his Account of What Happened in Sweden, mentioned previously, as a part of the prevailing idea that the establishment of a "spirit world" was necessary to the preservation of the concept of divine being. To erase the world of evil spirits was to threaten belief in the existence of beneficial spirits, thereby questioning the existence of God.

As far as the Religious Societies themselves were concerned, the two most crucial areas were his writings on the practice of piety and his treatment of the Roman controversy. The Societies were born of a desire for greater actualization of scriptural holiness, begotten, at least in part, by Horneck's preaching, and found their bounds within the limits prescribed by the Roman threat. These two main divisions of his work will be treated, therefore, at greater length, beginning with his expositions on practical piety, as these are probably the most concise statements of the ideas which underlay the Societies.

One way of approaching the writings would be to study them in order of publication. This would seem to be logical, in as much as the order of most authors' works is the order of the effectiveness of their influence. But in Horneck's case it seems wisest to approach his works topically, because as a pastor his entire system was

available to the general public on a day to day basis as people watched him live, and in his sermons as they listened to him preach. Many volumes were published simply to pull together thoughts that were already known, and to put them in perspective. His pietism was public property through his ministry. His writings were a systematic catalogue of his life.

If it was, indeed, Horneck's own piety that prompted the Societies, as Kidder suggests,[2] then one might begin by asking the goal of such scrupulous behavior. What was his goal for himself? the one valued and appropriated by the members of the Societies? Toward what end did they work? The simple answer to these questions is "holier life." But Horneck was too precise to allow an answer as vague as that to stand alone. He had very definite characteristics in mind for "holier life," and, being a Calvinist, he drew his models from the scripture. Also being a man of his era, he laid heavy emphasis on what was then thought to be the model provided by the so-called primitive Christian church. It was his design that the church of his day be modeled on the earliest known Christian communities. His conception of these communities is outlined in A Letter to a Person of Quality Concerning the Heavenly Lives of the Primitive Christians[3] which was appended to his practical treatise on holy life, The Happy Ascetic. Motivated by a request from an unknown man that he give an account

of a letter that Fronteau, French canon and chancellor of the University of Paris, had written entitled Concerning the Heavenly Lives of Primitive Christians, Horneck presents what he says is a paraphrase, to which he has added a few passages from some "ancient authors." He also refers at the outset to a "larger and better account . . . by a late writer of our church" and says his own is for those who wish a quick summary of the matter. The "larger and better account" is, in all probability, that of William Cave, entitled Primitive Christianity, which includes a description of the primitive church in all aspects, from architecture and governmental structure to spiritual discipline and demeanor. Horneck concentrates, in main, on their spirit and behavior, being interested primarily in piety rather than doctrine. This is where he differed in his treatment of primitive Christianity from most of his contemporaries. Whereas men like Bishop George Bull probed the ancients in quest of pure doctrine, Horneck was interested in procuring a model for pure Christian behavior.

In the Letter he speaks almost euphorically of the supposed virtues of individuals in earlier days. The church was not born in weak infancy he says, but was "lusty and vigorous" from the beginning. "It knew nothing of the infirmities, and the weaknesses of a tender Age, but did in its Youth things becoming the seriousness and sobriety of the oldest men." It was an egalitarian

society, "a Commonwealth made up of Great and Low, of Rulers, and Underlings, of Governors and Subjects; yet nothing was more hard, than to distinguish one from the other." They were a single family, caring and providing all things for all members. Widows found no need to re-marry, children were parented by the whole church, and doors were always open to strangers.[5] All members were Christ-like an their deportment,[5] Christ-centered in their consciousness and saw the image of Christ in everyone around them. Church government was exercised on a scriptural basis and the only thing that distinguished the pastors from the flock was their "officiousness and charity." The sacrament was conscientiously remembered at all meals. Sacrifice was considered a privilege and scourge for the sake of the Gospel was a cross to be sought.[6]

In Horneck's view, the primitive Christian Church was unparalleled in dedication and perfection. His description bears little similarity to the struggling souls portrayed in some of Paul's epistles, but still, his descriptions were well within scriptural ideals and he closes his Letter by saying "that these Saints may be your Pattern, and their Actions the great Rule of your Life."[7] Certainly these were the models he selected for his Societies. The church at large, in his time, was too vast, too heterogeneous for effective discipline of the whole, but the ecclesiolae in ecclesia were the very essence of

primitive Christian piety, a leaven in the lump of ecclesiastical laxity, the soul of the world. He draws an interesting parallel early in the letter, saying that what the soul is to the body, so is the church in the world:

> "What advantages the Soul can be supposed to give the Body, the same did the first Christians afford to the benighted World; and whatever inconveniences the Body puts the Soul to, the same did the besotted World bring upon the first Christians; for as the Soul tenders the Bodies welfare, so did they the Worlds; as the Soul directs the Body to do things rational, so did they the World; as the Soul restrains the body from doing mischief to itself, so did they the World; and as the Soul makes the members of the Body Instruments of Righteousness, so did they attempt to reform the deluded World into Holiness: On the other side, as the Body affecteth the Soul, so did the World persecute those first Christians; as the Body makes the Soul live uneasie so did the incommode these excellent men; as the Body puts ill Constructions on the actions and admonitions of the Soul, so the World did put the same on theirs, and as the Body seems to long for nothing so much, as the ruine of the Soul, so the destruction of those Saints, was the great thing the world did aim at."[8]

This gives some interesting insights when thought of in relation to his Societies, their experiences and what was seemingly expected of them.

It is dangerous to press the point too far in drawing Horneck's writings in any area too closely to the Societies. He never wrote specifically about his views where these groups were concerned. Indeed, the only contemporary list of rules extant come not from Horneck himself, but from his biographer, Richard Kidder. But certainly a man could not hold such views of the possibilities for Christian perfection and write regulations for societal organization and not draw upon those ideals in formulation

of the rules. In the last regulation he sets up, Rule XVIII in Kidder's list, he adjures the members of the Societies

> "to love one another, when reviled, not to revile again, to speak evil of no man, to wrong no man, to pray. . ., to transact all things peacefully and gently, to be helpful to each other, . . . to examine themselves, . . .to give everyone their due, to obey superiors both spiritual and temporal."[9]

(See Appendix A.)

It is interesting to note the nearly perfect parallel between the last line in Rule XVIII and his statement in the Letter that the primitive church was "submissive to the magistrates."[10] This is carried further in other rules, as he carefully structured the Societies to keep them from offending either civil or ecclesiastical leaders. The Societies were for personal edification, and by no means were to conflict with anything temporal, whether it be church or state. The primitive church was the soul of the world, not its conscience and as such must attempt to exercise no regulatory control over the world directly. It must modify the whole as leaven, from within, as individuals became transformed and, in turn, transforming.

Personal perfection was the goal of the Societies and Primitive Christianity was, in large part, the model. Next is the question of motivation. In Delight and Judgement or the Great Assize, he outlines the major reason wise individuals will find for turning from moral laxity to more conscientious observance. "The prospect

of a future judgement is enough to imbitter all the sensual and carnal delights of men, particularly of young men, and to bring a damp upon the most youthful and most jovial temper imaginable." His particular reference to young men, of which the Societies were largely composed is to be noted. As in The First Fruits of Reason the emphasis is on early attention to the seriousness of life. Delight and Judgement is an outline of what is to be expected at the time of judgement, and what bearing these expectations must have on the enjoyment of the delights of the world. The judgement he says, is sure, and will result in "the unspeakable anguish and misery of those who have been most jolly and merry in this Life."[11] In order to avoid future misery, delight in worldly pleasures must be curtailed. This is not to say that the pious individual makes no use of worldly things, but simply that he must not take excessive delight in them. Love of books, for instance, must be regarded carefully for "Inordinate delight in Knowledge . . .slackens our endeavor after practical love of God." Likewise, delight in "Gardens, Rivers, and orchards" is to be controlled as is the degree of pleasure attained from "Musick, either Vocal or Instrumental"[12] because, although these things are beautiful, they are but a reflection of that most beautiful being whose worship is our primary duty. And needless to say, the more vulgar pursuits of cards, dice and "tipling" are of ultimate danger to the soul.

Having established the errors to which persons succumb, he goes on to make recommendations on the best ways to avoid them. The twelve rules he sets up relate almost entirely to self discipline, and again are reflective of Rule XVIII. Only the first direction touches on the believer's relationship with other Christians, charging him "to pity those inconsiderate Men that live, as if there were no future Judgement."[13] There is no mention of any attempt on the part of the believer to change the behaviour of any other individual. The Societies for the Reformation of Manners, although endorsed by Horneck, as Woodward points out, were not his primary concern. Rather, he sought thoroughgoing individual piety.

Dedicated to the Duke of Albemarle, his benefactor just previous to his visit to Germany, The Great Law of Consideration is a further exhortation concerning "the Nature, Usefulness and absolute necessity of Consideration in order to a truly serious and religious life," as the subtitle states. It is evident from texts like this one and Delight and Judgement that Horneck believed an individual to be in control of his destiny in matters of salvation. In his Answer to a Soldier's Question he says "repentence is a voluntary, rational, deliberate change of life, tried by temptations, and attended with acts of faith, and hope, and love, and heavenly-mindedness."[14] Consideration, then, as he calls the attention an individual must initially give

to spiritual things, is preliminary to repentence, which is itself a work by the sinner. The members of the Societies were out toowork their way to salvation through mutual aid.

Again, the tenets of Rule XVIII appear as he urges the reader toward self-examination. He compares consideration to a magnifying lens "which discovers things imperceptable to the naked eye." Indeed, each person is endowed with reason, that he might employ it in the act of consideration. But frequently, this extraordinary power is perverted and contemplates only the things of the world, and the individual becomes "loath to part with . . .sins." After rehearsing the supposed impediments, consequences of neglect and advantage to serious consideration, Horneck goes on to exhort the unreformed to "consider their ways." He advises two aides to consideration, retirement and prayer, summarizing thus: "Retirement proved to be necessary to make consideration of our Spiritual State more quick and lively. Prayer calls in the assistence of God's Spirit, and renders the work effectual."[15] This statement certainly puts the act of consideration in perspective as a work of the believer, aided, but only aided, by God's Spirit in response to the individual's invocation. He closes the volume with an impassioned prayer that hails God's power and the sinner's meanness which further speaks of the Arminian nature of his concern:

> Thy spirit is perfect light, and there is no darkness in him. O let that glorious Light dissipate that gloominess, those foggs, that confusedness, that is in my intellectual part; make me conceive clearly and distinctly what I must do to inherit Eternal Life and how I must carry my self to God and Man. Give me such a sight of thy Glory, as may lift me above the world. . . .[16]
>
> (Emphasis added)

The goal of the Christian as Horneck saw it was to lift himself, with the aid of God's Spirit "above the world." He was to make use of the things of the world only insofar as the environment could assist him to procure "heavenly life," never taking undue "delight."

Consideration in youth is again emphasized in his sermon The First Fruits of Reason, which is an exegetical exposition on the text from Ecclesiastes 12.1, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth." It emphasizes three main points,

> I. What is it to remember God?
> II. What force there is in remembering God under the notion of our creator.
> III. Why the strict observance of these two lessons is particularly necessary in the days of our youth.[17]

In essence, the message establishes that the act of remembering God requires more than simple recollection of his existence. It requires one to stand in awe of him as the creator, the author of life, for whom man is made. This intimates a duty on behalf of the created and, Horneck says, this duty must be observed in youth because with age come hardness of heart and inability to change one's ways. He points out that the Hebrew

text actually reads "in the days of thy choice" which is in youth, before the habit of sin becomes entrenched. From youth, the believer grows toward perfection, and a lifetime is little enough for such a gigantic task, without waiting until the time is half expired to begin. "He is no CChristian that knows not what it is to grow in grace; and when we are to labour after perfection, it's evident that we must begin betimes."[18]

Again the practitioner, Horneck closes the volume with "Practical inference," which contain some reminders of aids toward the end he has established. Among them he includes observance of the examples set by others, remembrance of the redeemer, keeping God always in one's mind, and not wasting time with magic or relics or masses.[19]

But it would be a mistake to dismiss The First Fruits of Reason without some attention to what may be the most important word in the whole volume, indeed perhaps in Horneck's entire collected works: reason. To him it was only reasonable that the individual give attention to the facts of his spiritual life. In The Great Law of Consideration he says people shy away from serious religion because they anticipate it to be more difficult than it actually is. "Vain man! there are no Lions but in his own brain, no considerable difficulties, but what are of his own making."[20] For him the pursuit of salvation is the easiest, most natural task for his intellectual

attention, In the tradition of John Locke, and under the episcopal auspices of Tillotson he says with them "Spiritual things are the most adequate and most proper objects of my understanding."[21] For, though he spoke with religious fervor, Horneck addressed the individual's reason. Repentence was not mystical, it was "a voluntary, rational, deliberate change of life." Hence, "the first fruits of reason" must naturally be a turning toward God.

The most systematic treatment of the lifestyle he advocated is to be found in The Happy Ascetic or the Best Exercise. It is a lengthy, sometimes labourious treatment covering every imaginable aspect of the believer's life, including recommendations on what he calls the "extra-ordinary exercises of Godliness" which may be used by a believer seeking greater discipline. The Table of Contents is an outline worthy of reproduction here:

I. To pray always.
II. Every morning to resolve to tye ourselves to certain rules of living that day.
III. Everyday to spend half an hour or some such time in thinking of Good things.
IV. To study deep humility.
V. To bridle our tongues.
VI. To watch against little sins.
VII. To keep strict guard over our eyes.
VIII. To make good use of the virtues and vices of our neighbors.
IX. To put a charitable interpretation upon what we see or hear.
X. Conscientiously to discharge the duties of our several callings and relations.
XI. To resist all sorts of temptations.
XII. To stand in awe of God, when we are alone and no creature sees us.
XIII. To do all things to God's Glory.

XIV. To stir up and exercise the graces God hath given us.
XXV. Every night before we go to bed to call ourselves to account for the actions of the day.

Extraordinary exercises of Godliness
I. To enter into solemn vows and promises.
II. To subdue the body by fasting.
III. To use watching or abstinance from sleep.
IV. To apply ourselves to self-revenge.[22]

The meaning of most of these injunctions is self-evident, as are their reflections in Rule XVIII. His intention. he states in the Preface, is "to call men away from the shadow to the substance of religion, from the form to the power of godliness, and from a notional to a practical belief of the Gospel." "The Best Exercise," as he subtitles it, is a reference to the main text being studied, from I Timothy 4.7, "Exercise thyself rather unto Godliness." He acknowledges that the scripture was originally addressed to ministers who are "obliged to excell in Goodness and to be patterns to the Flock, in Word, in Conversation, in Spirit, in Faith and Purity" but continues "yet the obligation . . .lies upon all Christians to imitate their Pastors in their Holy lives, and acts of Piety."[23] These two statements put his own conscientious life and ministry into perspective.

Both of his contemporary biographers, Kidder, and the unknown writer, speak at length about Horneck's own fine example as pietist add pastor. Both agree his first concern was the welfare of his people, and this receives further testimony from his documented refusals of several preferments because he felt he would be held

personally responsible for the souls in his care. He unheld Christ's command to "feed my sheep" and the three-fold requirement to feed the hungry, cloth the naked, and visit the sick and imprisoned, with the utmost care as did all pietists in his time, and for several centuries to come. Although a large part of their concern was personal, they saw as a second, necessary step, the enlivening of their principles in their daily lives. And, to Horneck's mind, pastors were more responsible for "enlivening" society than most. If his biographers can be taken at their word, then one may assume that Horneck himself was the very living example of The Happy Ascetic, both as a Christian and as pastor.

A few key comments about the major points Horneck makes in this particular volume might be helpful. He begins with the admonition "to pray always." "Prayer," he says in another work, "is a homage due from all rational creatures to the great Creator; a duty to which the law of nature and our dependence upon God do bind us; and not to pray, is to be either a beast or a devil."[24] In The Happy Ascetic he defines it further as a habit p practiced "whatever company we are in, and whatever we are doing, though not with our Lips, yet in our Minds and Understandings."[25] Hence, prayer might be defined as a perfect, perpetual consciousness of God.

In Section 3, he recommends meditation, saying it "is that noble power, whereby we are distinguished from

Brutes, and irrational Animals; and our being able to think, and with our thoughts to dwell upon any divine Object, shews, that we participate of the nature of Angels." Again reason surfaces as that characteristic which divides humanity from the lesser beings. Meticulous as always, he recommends specific topics for meditation on particular days, beginning with the Kingdom of God on Sunday and continuing through the week to Saturday with contemplation of personal sinfulness. Meditation is the means whereby the individual puts his life as a creature in perspective. It is the very root of fervency according to the pietist, and real dedication cannot grow without it.[26]

Most interesting and least used, even in Horneck's day were those activities he calls "extraordinary exercises," i.e., vowing, fasting, watching and self-revenge. First, the making of vows, he defines as "a deliberate, voluntary, solemn Promise made to Almighty God of things Lawful and Possible."[27] In outlining the rules by which vows must be made (for in Horneck's system there are rules for everything) there is a regulation concerning the great ecclesiastical crisis of his era, the conflict with Rome. He warns against the making of vows to saints. No number of precidents which can be drawn from history pre-empt the Psalmist who warns "Vow and pay unto the Lord your God."(Ps. 76.11)

The second additional discipline he advocates is

fasting. To be undertaken in the event of some great personal stress, or when performing a special task or immediately upon repentence, it may take several forms. It may either exclude all sustenance or, if one is of weak constitution, it must exclude at least all pleasurable foods. During the period of fasting, scriptures and prayers must be well attended to and if possible a church service with eucharist is advised. In recounting the motives for such behaviour he chooses an interesting tact, which he uses occasionally in other frames of reference as well. He says, scorning lax Christians, that even heathens see the merits of fasting in their pagan systems.

Watching or abstinance from sleep, is another extra discipline to be used as an aid to holier life. As a regular pursuit, Horneck recommends a vigil one night in seven. Prayer, singing and meditation are the authorized activities for these hours, which may be spent alone, or in groups.[28]

And lastly is the little used virtue of self-revenge or self denial. Horneck warns that no merit must be expected as a result of such denial, and neither is an individual supposed to be atoning for past sins. There are no regulations concerning what must be forfeited because only the individual knows his own needs.[29]

None of these last four recommendations must be pursued to the ruination of the individual's physical

health, but are to be employed when "our Devotion wants quickening," "The more the Body is denied, the freer is the soul." Horneck restores these so-called severities to the Protestant discipline, partially in response to Rome's claim to greater piety due to maintenance of them. He conditions their use, warning against falling into Romish excesses.[30]

The Exercise of Prayer, published shortly after The Happy Ascetic, was intended to provide examples of various recommendations in the earlier volume. Its sections correspond exactly to the sections in the parent volume, having

> A Prayer relating to Exercise 1 which is to 'Pray without ceasing.'
> A Prayer relating to Exercise 2 which is 'Every morning to resolve to tie ourselves that day to certain rules of living.'
> etc.

Its prayers are fervent, even passionate in their appeal to a God that might seem flat and colorless if the stolid outlines contained in Horneck's rhetorical works were his only revelation. In a sense, Horneck's prayers are the salvation of his system as one peruses it in yellowed volumes, because it is through them that the reader is reminded that all is not mere philosophy, but a record of a system pointed toward a living faith. He addresses his prayers variously:

> O Thou who dwellest in the Heavens, and yet humblest thy self to behold the ways of the Children of men! . . .

> O Thou whose Wisdom cannot by searching be found out! Who hast made me a rational creature, and given me the power to think of all thy wondrous Works. . .
>
> O God, incomprehensible and glorious, whose Providence watches over me day and night, O Shepherd of Israel, who neither slumberest nor sleepest, and whose Eyes are always open for my good . . .[31]

It was with words like these that Horneck enjoined the people of the Savoy Chapel and the Church of St. Mary-le-Strand to higher life, nearer to a God whose lively presence was undeniably real in his own life.

In Delight and Judgement, The Great Law of Consideration, The First Fruits of Reason and The Happy Ascetic the main points of Horneck's system are outlined. Taken together, they describe the motivations and the methods involved in seeking holier life. The True Interest of Families: or Directions How Parents may be Happy in Their Children and Children in Their Parents is an interesting illustration of How Horneck waw his principles interacting to effect human relationships. Parents were responsible for the careful ordering of their children's lives, so that the young people might come to a recognition of themselves as children of God. To do this, the pietist principles must be impressed on them early. This involved, in essence, teaching the main points of The Happy Ascetic to each child as maturity enabled him to grasp them. Accordingly, children must keep themselves open to parental guidance, because it is commanded that they

honor their parents. Responsibility is the key in each family member's attitude toward another. These principles of interaction and responsibility also applied to the Societies, as units of the wider family of God.

Increased individual piety was possible, Horneck believed, only in conjunction with a carefully ordered life as a part of the church. Thus the sacraments were a large part of the life of any pious Christian. Particular emphasis was put on the eucharist, and Horneck's most lengthy volume, The Crucified Jesus or a Full Account of the Nature, End, Design and Benefits of the Lord's Supper, covers extensively the place of the sacrament in Christian life. The importance laid on Holy Communion also emerges in his emphasis on it in his parish. The volume itself is a collection of the sermons preached at his Friday services intended as preparation for the Sunday sacrament. Surprisingly, considering his Lutheran background, he understood the sacrament as a memorial meal.

> As these words, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' do necessarily import the Bread in this Sacrament, to be a Memorial of Christ's Crucified Body, or that, which is to put us in mind of it, and consequently suppose, that Christ's Real Body is absent; . . .what Christ calls 'Doing in remembrance of him,' the Apostle, . . .styles Shewing forth his Death' (I Corinthians 2.26). So that his Death, is the thing to be remembered here.[32]

Communicants are to remember the death of Christ, a superior being, made as an atonement for sin. Remembrance of his

suffering prompts the individual to the exercise of holier life. Such recollection is necessary as often as possible

> because I stand in need of frequent renewing, not only of my Repentence, and love to God, and charity to my Neighbors; but if the motives and enforcives to these Graces, whereof the remembrance of the love of God in the death of Christ, is the greatest, and most remarkable.[33]

He also commends it as frequent practice because it received careful attention in the primitive church.[34]

A large part of the benefit to be attained from the eucharist was contingent upon proper preparation for it, and here again, the principles of The Happy Ascetic laid the groundwork. In The Crucified Jesus's table of contents he lists the main preliminary tasks: "Meditation of Christ's Passion, . . .Self-resignation, . . . and Preparatory Devotions." And in addition a careful formula must be used after reception of the sacrament if full benefit were to be attained. One must be "ascetic" in preparation for the sacrament, the chief benefit of which was an increase in asceticism. The sacrament takes its place, then as the chief external aid to piety.

But all is not solemnity and calculation, as his eucharistic prayers show:

> O Jesus! My Life! My Joy! My Comfort! Thou diedst that I might live. I remember it, and adore Thy Majesty in misery. O make me Thine, and as this Bread doth mingle with my Substance, so let Thy Spirit mingle with my Soul, that the same mind may be in me, which was also in Christ Jesus.[35]

Or:

> Look upon this bread, O my Soul! it represents the bleeding Body of my dearest Lord. Bleed, O my Heart! Give thy self up to him that groaned for thee. It's done, O God, neither Death, nor Life, shall separate me from the Love of God, which is in Christ Jesus my Lord.[36]

The fervor of his involvement becomes apparent when compared with a more sedate pietistic prayer of the period:

> O Blessed Jesus, who once offeredst up thy self for me upon the cross, and now offerest thy self to me in the sacrament, let not I beseech thee, my impenitence and unworthiness frustrate these so inestimable mercies to me, but qualifie me by thy grace to receive the full benefit of them, etc.[37]

Horneck's extraordinary devotional passion is diametrically opposite in tone from his didactic material, but together they formed a pattern for practical piety that extended the boundaries of his parish from Whitechapel to Whitehall, creating the living faith around which the Societies were formed.

A major topic of concern for many churchmen of the time and the second division of Horneck's work having particular influence on the Societies were those volumes which dealt with Roman Catholicism. Although much less volumnous than those on practical piety, the anti-popery materials carried equal weight because of the timeliness of their publication and the deep concern among Protestants for the ground being lost to Papism under the Catholic monarch. It might well be said that piety was the positive stimulus for the societies, and the goal toward which they

worked, and popery was the negative, from which they sought escape.

The main points of Horneck's anti-Roman writings can be deduced from two works. One, Questions and Answers Concerning the 2 Religions, is a didactic treatise, dealing WITH each of the points of dissention in a systematic, scholarly manner. The other, A Letter from a Protestant Gentleman to a Lady Revolted to the Church of Rome, is a restatement of the same points in an impassioned way, intended, in effect, to "preach her to repentence." The didactic composition lists twenty-six questions of major importance, ranging from sacramental interpretation to disciplinary matters, and answers each with the arguments traditionally laid down by the Anglican Church. It is intended, as is noted on the title page, "for the Use and Benefit of the Younger Sort of People," and defines with typical lengthiness each difference, setting down the greater sensibility of Anglican doctrine. It is unnecessary to go into his arguments at length, as they typify the more dogmatic anti-popery publications of the period. It is sufficient to say simply that Kidder's statement that Horneck was a true and dedicated Anglican[38] receives ample testimony from these pages.

The effect of Horneck's works was already under assessment by the time of his death. His pietistic writings were variously appreciated, taken as a model by many, and

fiercely criticised by others. Both points of view are set out by Thomas Burnet, a distant relative of Gilbert Burnet, in a letter to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, written in July, 1697:

> . . . He did certainly much good, by his catechising, visiting, preaching, writing and exemple: Bot efterall it is debated whether he heth done more good or Evil, to the most of those well intentioned people: for by crying up so much the austerity of the primitive devotione, and the frequencie of its excercises (and that at hours which now wold be thought unseasonable), the length of these acts of devotione, the number and strictnesse of his rules, with his precepts of Mortificatione, etc., -he made the way to Heaven so hard and laborious; That many good ladies that followed up most his precepts, were thrown into a thousand melancholique sufferings and fears, for not having doone-all that they thought they were obliged to doe, lyk the primitive Christians: Others that did follow his book of morning's best Exercise-more closely, did prejudge much the health of there body alseweill as of mynd therby.[39]

Burnet draws further from the testimony of Bishop Edward Stillingfleet, whose wife died at about the same time as Dr. Horneck:

> . . . Mistress Stillingfleet, out of ardent desyre efter Dr. Horneck's primitive devotions, was used to ryse in the morning by . . . clock, even in winter. This did macerat her body and spoil a good face so much, that my Lord her husband used to say to her: 'Dr. Horneck was a good man, bot that he wold banish him from her company, and burn his books in her closet.'[40]

Though his effect on the souls of his followers is apparently open for debate, it is evident that his effect on their actions is not. It was through the preaching of practical piety and anti-popery, both verbally and in print, that individuals were motivated to originate the Societies.

Whatever other factors contributed to their rise, it cannot be denied that Horneck was their chief pattern, both in doctrine and in daily life.

## POSTSCRIPT

Had Horneck's Societies ceased at his death, their characteristics would be far less interesting to historians. It was their ability to survive their master and continue to be an important means of discipline among later generations of Christians that make them worthy of attention centuries later. Major modifications did take place in some cases, draining them of the pietism by which they flourished. By the time Josiah Woodward wrote, many of the groups had evolved into Societies for the Reformation of Manners. And later, more philanthropic organizations took the early groups as models, including the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Each of these societies had a purpose and served their purpose well, but none were based on that firm foundation of piety that made Horneck's groups unique.

It was not until John Wesley again mobilized that critical combination of piety and political acceptability that societies approximated Horneck's aims, and even then, at Wesley's death, political offenses destroyed the desired *via media*. The fact that it was Methodism that resurrected Horneck's model, at least in part is made more significant by a volume published by John Wesley's

father, Samuel, in 1724, approximately half way between Horneck's death and the incorporation of the society system into Methodism. In A Letter Concerning the Religious Societies, Samuel Wesley acknowledges acquaintance with the Societies in existence in London and Westminster at the time and mentions Woodward's book, then in print about a decade. Distinguishing between the pietistic groups and those centered on philanthropy, Wesley says he would like to see the former established in "considerable towns and populous villages" as an aid to the rural deans.[1] In fact, it was to be his own son who would come closest to making this desire a reality, by spreading Societies, modeled closely on Horneck's, over much of rural Britain, making them a decisive factor in yet another century of English church history.

Even more successful in their degree of influence, John Wesley's societies incorporated the one characteristic that Horneck's had lacked: and emphasis on reawakening. In this aspect Wesley more closely resembled the German pietists who were equally Arminian in their orientation, but possessed the decisive warmth begotten of fervent belief in the transforming effects of rebirth. Without this emphasis, strict observance gave way to the sort of mummified pietism exemplifiedby "the austerely ascetic Nonjuring [Cambridge] undergraduate Ambrose Bonwicke, . . . found dead in 1714, sitting cold and stiff in his chair,

his Officium Eucharisticum open before him, and beside it Robert Nelson's guide to the Prayer Book."[2] Wesley's societies gave rise to no such "cold and stiff" pietism. Born of impassioned outdoor preaching, the "strangely warmed" Methodists bore little outward resemblance to the "macerated" Mistresses Stillingfleet, devotionally descended from Dr. Horneck's massive tomes.

But Methodism's goals were the same and, in practice, the system differed very little from Horneck's. Further, the problems were also the same, and , in all probability, it was the very warmth of heart which enhanced the success of the Methodist societies that made way for the heat of temper that eventually divided them from the Church of England. Horneck's unimpassioned intellectual approach had its advantages. But insofar as religion is the child of man's emotional nature, it was Wesley's adaptation of the Religious Societies that brought them closest to perfection.

## APPENDIX A

### Rules

I. That all that entered into such a Society should resolve upon an holy and serios life.

II. That no person shall be admitted into this Society till he arrive at the age of 16 and hath been confirmed by the Bishop and solemnly taken on himself his Baptismal Vow.

III. That they chose a minister of the Church of England to direct them.

IV. That they shall not be allowed in their meetings to discourse of any controverted point of Divinity.

V. Neither shall they discourse of Government of Church or State.

VI. That in their meetings they shall use no prayers but those of the Church, such as the Litany and Collects and other prescribed prayers, but still they shall not use any that peculiarly belongs to the Minister, as the Absolution.

VII. That the minister whom they shall chose shall direct what practical divinity shall be read at those meetings.

VIII. That they may have liberty, after prayer and reading to sing a psalm.

IX. That after all is done, if there be time left, they may discourse each other about their spiritual concerns; but this shall not be a standing exercise, which any shall be obliged to attend unto.

X. That one day in the Week be appointed for this meeting, for such as cannot come on the Lord's Day, and that he that absents himself without cause shall pay three pence into the box.

XI. Everytime they meet, everyone shall give six pence to the box.

XII. That on a certain day in the year, viz., Whit-suntuesday, two stewards shall be chosen and a moderate dinner provided and a sermon preached and the money distributed (necessary charges deducted) to the poor.

XIII. A book shall be bought in which these orders shall be written.

XIV. None shall be admitted into this society without the consent of the minister who presides over it; and no apprentice shall be capable of being chosen.

XV. That if any case of conscience arise it shall be brought before the minister.

XVI. If any member think fit to leave the society, he shall pay 5 shillings to the stock.

XVII. The major part of the Society to conclude the rest.

XVIII. The following Rules are more especially to be

commended to the members of this society, viz., To love one another: When reviled, not to revile again: To speak evil of no man: To wrong no man: To pray, if possible, seven times a day: To keep close to the Church of England: To transact all things peacefully and gently; To be helpful to each other: To use themselves to holy thoughts in their coming in and going out: To examine themselves everynite; To give everyone their due: To obey superiors both spiritual and temporal.

From Kidder's Life, pp. 13-16.

(Spelling and punctuation reproduced as in original)

## APPENDIX B

The Names, places of abode, employment and Occupations of the Several Societies in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, Belonging to the Church of England. 1694. (Mss. Rawl. D1312)

Munday Nights Society in Fleetlane

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Masters | | |
| Jno Booker | Clerk to Mr. Serjeant Darnell in ye Temple by ye Fountaine | Gent. |
| Jno Golby | In Cowlane | Coachharnessmaker |
| Jno Singleday | Bye Pye Corner | Carpenter |
| Jno Guilt | In Townditch | Watchmaker |
| Tho Gibbs | Att ye Heathers in Stockmarket | Cooke |
| Wm Hedsom | Att ye Queenshead Newgate St | Upholsterer |
| Ano: | Att ye Pattin in Fleet Street | Pattenmaker |
| Edw Hull | By ye Crown & Shoe by St. Dunstans | Shoemaker |
| Journeymen | | |
| Jno Lucas | Att ye Blacklyon Ludgate hill | Mercer |
| Anth. Lamb | Att ye Heathers Aldersgate Street | Cook |
| Sam Spenlove | In Shoelane | Shoemaker |
| Gerr Vazier | In Bond Stables | Carrier |
| Jno Horseman | de edam | Shoemaker |
| Geo Faucett | Att ye blew bell Blackfriers | Tayler |
| Jno Avery | By ye Coalyard Holborne | Pattenmaker |
| Apprents | | |
| Tho Sedgewick | Att ye 3 Kings Ludgatehill | Laceman |
| Law. Raine | By St Dunstans Church | Apothecary |

Times and Places of meetings:

Sunday nites - Mr. Bradshaws in Denmarke Court against Tom's Coffee House near Exeter Change in the Strand

- att the Vestry in St. Albans Woodstreet

- behind the 3 flower deluces against Bull Inn Court in the Strand

- att Mr Tho Warrens in Leadenhall Str - The first Sundays of the month are excepted.

- att Mr Papsworths by White Gate Alley Bishopsgate

- att mr Watts att the 5 bells in Duke Street near Lincoln's Inn Fields

Munday Nights Society in Fleetlane (Quoted above)

- att ye Dukeshead in Lincoln's Inn Fields

Tuesday nites Society att Mr Watts att ye 5 bells in Dukestreet near Lincoln's Inn Fields

Tuesday nights Society (No location)

- att Mr Chamberlain's in Fitches Court, Noble street

Wednesday Nights att Mr Watt's att ye 5 bells in Dukestreet

Thursday nights Society att Mr Woods in Fountaine Court in ye Strand

- att Mr Tho Castle's in Cannon Street near Ab Church Lane

- att ye Eagle & Child in St Martin Legrand

(Spelling and punctuation reproduced as in original)

FOOTNOTES

Preface

[1]F.W.B. Bullock, Voluntary Religious Societies (St. Leonards on Sea, Sussex: Budd and Gillatt, 1963), p. 127.

Chapter I

[1]Richard Kidder, The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, DD., Late Preacher of the Savoy (London: B. Aylmer, 1698), p. 3.

[2]A Summary Account of the Life of the Truly Pious and Reverend Dr. Anthony Horneck, Minister of the Savoy, In a letter to a friend. To which is added a Catalogue of his works. (London: E. Whitlock, 1697), pp. 7-8.

[3]Ibid., p.8.

[4]Kidder, p. 3.

[5]Anthony Horneck, The Happy Ascetic, or the Best Exercise to Which is Added a Letter to a Person of Quality Concerning the Holy Lives of Primitive Christians (London: Henry Mortlock, 1671), p.307.

[6]Kidder, p. 4.

[7]Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "Horneck, Anthony," by Stephen Leslie, p. 367.

[8]Kidder, p. 4.

[9]Richard B. Hone, Lives of Eminent Christians, 4 vols. (London: John W. Parker, 1834), 2: 310.

[10]National Biography, "Horneck," p. 367.

[11]Kidder, p. 5.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Joseph Lemuel Chester, The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster, Private Edition (London: Mitchell & Hughes, 1876), p. 252n.

[14]Hone, p. 355.

[15]Chester, pp. 342n-43n.

[16]Ibid., p. 369n.

[17]Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey (London: John Murray, 1876), pp. 252-53.

[18]National Biography, "Horneck," p. 368.

[19]William John Loftie, Memorials of the Savoy, The Palace, The Hospital, The Chapel (London: MacMillan & Co., 1878), p. 190.

[20]Hone, pp. 313-14.

[21]Loftie, p. 192.

[22]Kidder, p. 29.

[23]Anthony Horneck, An Account of Mr. E. Schlater's Return to the Communion of the Church of England and the Public recantation he made at the Church of St. Mary, Savoy, the 5th of May, 1689.(London, 1689).

[24]National Biography, "Horneck," p. 367.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Kidder, p. 22.

[27]Ibid., p. 44.

[28]Hone, p. 335.

[29]Kidder, p. 9.

[30]Anthony Horneck, An Account of What Happened in Sweden, in Saducismus Triumphatus or Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions by Joseph Glanville (London: S. Lowndes, 1689), pp. 591-92.

[31]Kidder, pp. 29-30.

[32]Hone, p. 366.

Chapter II

[1]Josiah Woodward, An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the city of London and the endeavors for Reforming of Manners which have been made therein, 2nd ed. (London: J.D., 1698), p. 17.

[2]Garnet Portus, Caritas Anglicana or An Historical Inquiry into those Religious and Philanthropical Societies that flourished in England between the years 1678 and 1740 (London: A.R. Mowbray and Co., 1912), p. 26.

[3]Ibid., p. 20.

[4]The Names, places of abode, employment and Occupations of the Several Societies in and About the Cities of London and Westminster Belonging to the Church of England, 1694, (Mss. Rawl. D1312, Bodleian Library).

[5]Robert Nelson, An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate (London: G. James, 1715), pp. 136-37.

[6]F.W.B. Bullock, Voluntary Religious Societies (St. Leonards on Sea, Sussex: Budd and Gillatt, 1963), p. 130.

[7]James Paterson, Pietas Londinensis or the Present Ecclesiastical State of London (London: Joseph Downing, 1714), p. 89.

[8]Ibid., p. 143.

[9]Ibid., p. 196.

[10]John Chamberlayne, Magna Britannia Notitia or the Present State of Great Britain with Divers Remarks upon the Antient State Thereof (London: Timothy Goodwin, et al., 1708), p. 277.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Bullock, p. x.

[13]A.C.F. Beales, Education Under Penalty (London: The Athlone Press, 1963), pp. 250-53.

[14]Portus, p. 15.

## Chapter III

[1]A Summary Account of the Life of the Truly Pious and Reverend Dr. Anthony Horneck, Minister of the Savoy, In a letter to a friend. To which is added a Catalogue of his works (London: E. Whitlock, 1697), n.p.

[2]Richard Kidder, The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, DD., Late Preacher of the Savoy (London: B. Aylmer, 1698), p. 13.

[3]Anthony Horneck, A Letter to a Person of Quality Concerning the Heavenly Lives of the Primitive Christians, in The Happy Ascetic, or the Best Exercise (London: Henry Mortlock, 1681).

[4]Ibid., p 479.

[5]Ibid., pp. 479-80, p. 486, pp. 507, p. 521, p. 494.

[6]Ibid., p. 491, p. 499, p. 496, p. 492, p. 502.

[7]Ibid., p. 541.

[8]Ibid., pp. 482-83.

[9]Kidder, pp. 15-16.

[10]Primitive Christians, p. 534.

[11]Anthony Horneck, Delight and Judgement or the Great Assize, 3rd ed. (London: Henry Mortlock, 1705), n.p.

[12]Ibid., p. 105, p. 100, p. 101.

[13]Ibid., p. 245.

[14]Anthony Horneck, A Few Heads of Advice extracted from . . ."Answer to the Soldier's Question 'What Shall we Do,'" (London: SPCK, 1851), p. 10.

[15]Anthony Horneck, The Great Law of Consideration: or a Discourse Wherein the Nature, Usefulness and Absolute Necessity of Consideration in Order to a Truly Serious and Religious Life is Laid Open, 2nd ed. (London: Samuel Lowndes, 1678), p. 12, p. 50, p. 76, p. 351, p. 383.

[16]Ibid., p. 417.

[17]Anthony Horneck, The First Fruits of Reason, or a Discourse Shewing the Necessity of Applying Ourselves Betimes to the Serious Practice of Religion (London: F. Collins, 1686), pp. 7-8.

[18]Ibid., p.4, pp. 34-35.

[19]Ibid., p. 46, p. 51, p. 77, p. 84.

[20]Consideration, p. 80.

[21]First Fruits, p. 82.

[22]Anthony Horneck, The Happy Ascetic, or the Best Exercise to Which is Added a Letter to a Person of Quality, Concerning the Holy Lives of Primitive Christians, (London: Henry Moftlock, 1681), n.p.

[23]Ibid., n.p., p. 1, p. 6.

[24]A Soldier's Question, p. 6.

[25]Ascetic, p. 13.

[26]Ibid., p. 33, p. 34, p. 41, p. 46.

[27]Ibid., p. 319.

[28]Ibid., p. 404, p. 405, p. 413.

[29]Ibid., p. 425, p. 442, p. 446, p. 457.

[30]Ibid., p. 316, p. 317, p. 318.

[31]Anthony Horneck, The Exercise of Prayer, or a Help to Devotion, being a supplement to the Happy Ascetic or the Best Exercise (London: Mark Pardoe, 1685), p. 1, p. 5, p. 5, p. 10, p. 97.

[32]Anthony Horneck, The Crucified Jesus or a Full Account of the Nature, End, Design and Benefits of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with Necessary Directions, Prayers, Praises and Meditations to be used by persons who come to the Holy Communion (London: Samuel Lowndes, 1686), p. 32.

[33]Anthony Horneck, The Fire of the Altar or Certain Directions how to Raise the Soul Into Holy Flames, Before, At, and After Receiving The Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with Suitable Prayers and Devotions. To Which is Prefixed A dialogue betwixt a Christian and His Conscience Concerning the True Nature of the Christian Religion, 2nd ed. (London: Samuel Lowndes, 1684), p. 27.

[34]The Crucified Jesus, p. 344.

[35]Fire, p. 98.

[36]Ibid., p. 99.

[37]Richard Allestree, The Whole Duty of Man. . . with Private Devotions (London: T. Garthwait, 1659 & 1660), p. 52.

[38]Kidder, p. 39.

[39]John M. Kemble, State Papers and Correspondence Illustrative of the Social and Political State of Europe (London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1857), p. 194.

[40]Ibid., p. 196.

## Postscript

[1]Samuel Wesley, A Letter Concerning the Religious Societies (London: n.p., 1724), p. 39.

[2]John Walsh, "The Cambridge Methodists," in Christian Spirituality, Peter Brooks, ed. (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1975), pp. 253-54.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary Sources


Horneck, Anthony. An Account of Mr. E. Schlater's Return to the Communion of the Church of England and the Public recantation he made at the Church of St. Mary, Savoy, the 5th of May, 1689. London, 1689.

Horneck, Anthony. An Account of What Happened in Sweden. In Saducismus Triumphatus or Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions. By Joseph Glanville. London: S. Lowndes, 1689.

Horneck, Anthony. The Crucified Jesus or a full Account of the nature, end, design and Benefits of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with Necessary Directions, Prayers, Praises and meditations to be used by persons who come to the Holy Communion. London: Samuel Lowndes, 1686.

Horneck, Anthony. Delight and Judgement or the Great Assize. 3rd Edition. London: Henry Mortlock, 1705.

Horneck, Anthony. An Ernest Call to Family Catechising and Reformation. London: John Dunton, 1963.

Horneck, Anthony. The Exercise of Prayer, or a Help to Devotion, Being a supplement to The Happy Ascetic or the Best Exercise. London: Mark Pardoe, 1685.

Horneck, Anthony. A Few Heads of Advice extracted from . . ."Answer to the Soldier's Question 'What shall we do?'" London: S.P.C.K., 1851.

Horneck, Anthony. The Fire of the Altar or Certain Directions how to Raise the Soul Into Holy Flames, Before, At, and After the Receiving of the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with Suitable Prayers and Devotions. To Which is Prefixed A Dialogue betwixt a Christian and his own Conscience concerning the True Nature of the Christian Religion. 2nd Edition. London: Samuel Lowndes, 1684.

Horneck, Anthony. The First Fruits of Reason, or a Discourse Shewing the Necessity of Applying Ourselves Betimes to the Serious Practice of Religion. London: F. Collins, 1686.

Horneck, Anthony. The Great Law of Consideration: or a Discourse wherein the Nature, Usefulness and Absolute Necessity of Consideration in Order to a Truly Serious and Religious Life is Laid Open. 2nd Edition. London: Samuel Lowndes, 1678.

Horneck, Anthony. The Happy Ascetic or the Best Exercise to Which is Added a Letter to a Person of Quality, Concerning the Holy Lives of Primitive Christians. London: Henry Mortlock, 1681.

Horneck, Anthony. A Letter to a Person of Quality Concerning the Heavenly Lives of the Primitive Christians. In The Happy Ascetic or the Best Exercise. London: Henry Mortlock, 1681.

Horneck, Anthony. A Letter from a Protestant Gentleman to a Lady Revolted to the Church At Rome. London: James Collins, 1678.

Horneck, Anthony. Questions and Answers Concerning the 2 Religions, viz., That of the Church of England and the other of the Church of Rome. London: Samuel Lowndes, 1688.

Horneck, Anthony. The True Interest of Families: or Directions How Parents May be Happy in their Children and Children in Their Parents. London: J. Taylor, 1692.

Secondary Sources

Abbey, Charles J. The English Church and its Bishops 1700-1800. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887.

Allestree, Richard. The Whole Duty of Man . . .with Private Devotions. London: T. Garthwait, 1659 and 1660.

Beales, A.C.F. Education Under Penalty. London: The Athlone Press, 1963.

Bibliotheca Hornecciana or a Catalogue of Valuable and Choice Books . . . being the Library of the Reverend Anthony Horneck. London: 1697.

Bullock, F.W.B. Voluntary Religious Societies 1520-1799. St. Leonards on Sea, Sussex: Budd and Gillatt, 1963.

Chamberlayne, John. Magna Britannia Notitia or the Present State of Great Britain with Divers Remarks upon the Antient State Thereof. London: Timothy Goodwin, et al., 1708.

Chester, Jos. Lemuel, ed. The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster. Private Edition. London: Mitchell and Hughes, Printers, 1876.

Dictionary of National Biography. S.v. "Horneck, Anthony," by Stephen Leslie.

Hone, Richard B. Lives of Eminent Christians. 4 vols. London; John W. Parker, 1834.

Kemble, John M. State Papers and Correspondence Illustrative of the Social and Political State of Europe. London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1857.

Kidder. Richard. The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, DD., Late Preacher At the Savoy. London: B. Aylmer, 1698.

Kirke, William. Mr. Nelson's Companion for the Festivals of the Church of England. London: A. Bettesworth, 1715.

Legg, J. Wickham. English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1914.

Loftie, William John. Memorials of the Savoy. The Palace, the Hospital, the Chapel. London: MacMillan and Co., 1878.

The Names, places of abode, employment and Occupations of the Several Societies in and About the Cities of London and Westminster Belonging to the Church of England. 1694. (Mss. Rawl. D1312)

Nelson, Robert. An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate. London: G. James, 1715.

Orders Belonging to a Religious Society. London: n.p., 1724.

Overton, J.H. Life in the English Church (1660-1714). London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1885.

Paterson, James. Pietas Londinensis or the Present Ecclesiastical State of London. London: Joseph Downing, 1714.

Portus, Garnet V. Caritas Anglicana or An Historical Inquiry into those Religious and Philanthropical Societies that flourished in England between the years 1678 and 1740. London: A.R. Mowbray and Co., 1912.

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey. London: John Murray, 1876.

Stoeffler, F. Ernest. The Rise of Evangelical Pietism. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965.

A Summary Account of the Life of the truly Pious and Reverend Dr. Anthony Horneck, Minister of the Savoy. In a letter to a friend. To which is a Catalogue of his works. London: E. Whitlock, 1697.

Walsh, John. "The Cambridge Methodists." In Christian Spirituality. Edited by Peter Brooks. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1975.

Wesley, Samuel. A Letter Concerning the Religious Societies. London: 1724.

Woodward, Josiah. An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the city of London and the endeavors for Reformation of Manners which have been made therein. 2nd Edition. London: J.D., 1698.